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WILLIAM COWPER AND THE FRIENDS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

Part I. In England.

In his rather unsympathetic study of Cowper, Walter Bagehot wrote: "He is the one poet of a class which have no poets. In that once large and still considerable portion of the English world, which regards the exercise of the fancy and the imagination as dangerous—snares, as they speak—distracting the soul from an intense consideration of abstract doctrine, Cowper's strenuous inculcation of those doctrines has obtained for him a certain toleration. . . . Most poets must be prohibited. . . . But Cowper is a ticket-of-leave man. He has the chaplain's certificate. He has expressed himself 'with the utmost propriety.' The other imaginative criminals must be left to the fates, but he may be admitted to the sacred drawing-room, though with constant care and scrupulous *surveillance.*"[1]

Beneath this tone of banter, Bagehot is right in his analysis of the phenomenon of Cowper's popularity with a certain class of readers. His words are particularly to be borne in mind when we come to account for the affectionate regard in which the Poet has been held by the Society of Friends.

Cowper appears to have had no social contact with the Quakers of his day. There are only a few slight references to them in his Letters. When the Poet and Mrs. Unwin were preparing lodgings for the reception of Lady Hesketh in 1786, a Quaker family in Olney rendered some assistance that was appreciated. Mrs. Unwin was conferring on the subject with one Maurice Smith, when his wife called out, "Why dost thee not take the vicarage? . . . We will furnish it for thee, and at the lowest rate; from a bed to a platter we will find all." A little later, on June 12, 1786, he again wrote to his cousin: "My friend the Quaker, in all that I have seen of his doings, has acquitted himself much to my satisfaction. Some little things, he says, will perhaps be missing at first, in such a multiplicity, but they shall

[1] *William Cowper* in *Literary Studies.* Works (Hartford ed.), I, 432.

be provided as soon as called for." In a letter to Newton of February 18, 1781, he wrote: "I do not know, but am inclined to suspect that if my Muse was to go forth clad in Quaker colour, without one bit of riband to enliven her appearance, she might walk from one end of London to the other, as little noticed as if she were one of the sisterhood indeed." Once when discussing politics in a letter of March 16, 1780, to Joseph Hill, he wrote: "As for me, I am no Quaker, except where military matters are in question, and there I am much of the same mind with an honest man, who, when he was forced into the service, declared he would not fight, and gave this reason—because he saw nothing worth fighting for."

Such are the sparse references in Cowper's Letters to the Quakerism of his day: nothing to indicate on his part much personal familiarity with, or interest in, the Quakers or their tenets. He was certainly not in the least degree affected by Quaker thought. But in the other direction the influence has been profound. He has been a favorite with a Society which has been inexacting of art in poetry, but very requiring as to its edifying content. The documents to which we now turn our attention have never before been brought together for this purpose. Indeed, they are for the most part not in print. They could be indefinitely multiplied, as a result of personal inquiry among members of the older generation, if further proof were required. What is here said will prove the point which has not yet been clearly brought out by historians of Quakerism: that Cowper was the titled Poet of Quakerism for upwards of a century.

The attitude of eighteenth-century Quakerism toward literature in general is officially set forth in a Minute drawn up by London Yearly Meeting in 1764, and printed in the first printed Discipline of 1783: "This meeting being sorrowfully affected, under a consideration of the hurtful tendency of reading plays, romances, novels, and other pernicious books, it is earnestly recommended to every member of our Society, to discourage and suppress the same; and particularly to acquaint all booksellers, under our name, with the painful anxiety occasioned to this meeting, by a report of some instances of selling or lending such

books, entreating they would avoid a practice so inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion. And Friends are desired to be careful of the choice of all books, in which their children read, seeing there are many, under the specious titles of the promotion of religion and morality, containing sentiments repugnant to the truth, as it is in Christ Jesus." (Page 16.)

This official Minute, still in force,[2] thus early expressed a concern which was urgently felt for over half a century, and which was shared by many other families besides those of Friends. It is not without significance that the year before the above Minute was printed, Cowper had himself published the following lines:

"Ye writers of what none with safety reads,
Footing it in the dance that fancy leads,
Ye novelists, who mar what ye would mend,
Snivelling and drivelling folly without end,
Whose corresponding misses fill the ream
With sentimental frippery and dream,
Caught in a delicate soft silken net
By some lewd earl or rake-hell baronet;
Ye pimps, who, under Virtue's fair pretence,
Steal to the closet of young Innocence,
And teach her, unexperienced yet and green,
To scribble, as you scribbled at fifteen;
Who, kindling a combustion of desire,
With some cold moral think to quench the fire;
Though all your engineering proves in vain,
The dribbling stream ne'er puts it out again;
Oh that a verse had power, and could command
Far, far away these flesh-flies of the land!
Who fasten without mercy on the fair,
And suck, and leave a craving maggot there.
Howe'er disguised the inflammatory tale,
And covered with a fine-spun specious veil,
Such writers and such readers owe the gust
And relish of their pleasure all to lust."

(*The Progress of Error:* 307–330.)

When we recall the edifying purpose which Cowper professed in all his serious work, we are not surprised to observe how directly his plain and virtuous message went to the hearts of the

[2] Cf. *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware,* etc., Philadelphia, 1910, pp. 115, 116

Friends. As if in response to the Minute of 1764, there subsequently issued from the presses of England and America great numbers of Selections, Miscellanies, Garlands, and collections of hymns. One much used was that of Priscilla Gurney, first published in 1818, containing 26 *Olney Hymns* of Cowper out of a total of 253 hymns, representing notably the work of Newton, Watts, Kelly, Taylor, and the French mystic, Madame Guyon, the last being in Cowper's translation. Priscilla Gurney intended this collection chiefly "for young persons belonging to the Society of Friends. . . . Such compositions are easily committed to memory; and they afford a familiar and interesting method of impressing the doctrines and precepts of religion." Practically all such collections of hymns and of pious poetry, including Readers like the Ackworth Reader in England and those of Lindley Murray in England and America, which I have examined as dating from the first half of the nineteenth century, contain numerous specimens of Cowper's work.

Ackworth School in Yorkshire is a representative Quaker School, founded toward the close of the eighteenth century. We are fortunate in possessing some data as to the sort of reading that was encouraged among the young Friends in this guarded institution. The information is contained in "A Sketch of the System of religious instruction pursued at Ackworth School, drawn up by John Newby (1806–1877) in reply to some inquiries from Charles Yarnall of Philadelphia, First Month, 1834," in the possession of W. C. Braithwaite of Banbury, Oxfordshire. This report refers to the Boys' Library of about 150 volumes in each of four dépots, whose contents were changed quarterly, thus insuring some variety. Of the 150 volumes in each room, about forty were of a religious character, and could be borrowed on First Days. The report continues: "This portion of the library includes a good deal of the biography of distinguished Friends, *Piety Promoted,* and some of the simple treatises on Friends' doctrines. Such books of this kind have been selected as seemed adapted to the capacities of children. Some collections of Hymns are admitted,—one compiled by Priscilla Gurney; the *Olney Hymns* by Cowper and Newton; and the *Christian Psalm-*

ist by Montgomery. One or more copies of the *Pilgrim's Progress* are in each division." Such were some of the books exposed in 1834 on the "open shelf," according to the portion of the report dealing with a Boys' Library as connected with religious instruction! It may have been of such a library that John Paget was thinking, when he wrote in *Blackwood's Magazine* for July, 1861: "Nothing can be conceived more desolate than a pure Quaker library; Barclay's *Apology* and Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*, and George Fox's *Journal*—perhaps, by extraordinarily good fortune, *Paradise Lost* and *The Task*—all excellent in their way, but not exactly the books to wile away a tedious hour."[3] In 1826, the Masters of this same School asked the Committee for two copies each of Young's *Night Thoughts*, Thomson's *Seasons*, Cowper's Poems, *The Wreath*, Gurney's *Hymns* (six copies), and *Evenings at Home* (eleven copies), "as occasional books." All were granted by the generous committee. It is interesting to find in a *Report on the Employment of Leisure Time at School*, presented to the Friends' Educational Society at York in 1845, Cowper's *Tirocinium* quoted as illustrating the principle of association of teacher with pupil in recreation hours:

> "E'en in his pastimes he requires a friend," —

a principle which is now recognized to be sound.

The official attitude toward reading at Ackworth early in the last century may be taken as characteristic of the Quaker pedagogical conformity with the concern of the Yearly Meeting at London in 1764. The range of matter was very narrow, but the familiarity of the reader with it was very deep. I have seen a well-worn private copy of *A Selection of Poetry for the Use of Schools*, printed at Falmouth in 1838, which was used about the middle of the century at Lovell Squire's School, Falmouth, and at Grove House, Tottenham,—both Friends' institutions. This little volume contains sixteen pieces by Cowper, including some *Olney Hymns* and extended extracts from the longer poems, which were memorized by the pupils. As time went on, the taste of Quaker youth for letters, travel, and natural science was more

[3] Cf. John Paget, *Paradoxes and Puzzles*, London, 1874, pp. 404–5.

freely indulged, and no field of literature can be said to have been closed to the younger people of the Society in England and America by the middle of the century, except drama and fiction. That learned scholar and Quaker gentleman, the late J. Bevan Braithwaite, published as a tract in 1875 some very suggestive *Thoughts on Books and Reading,* the substance of which he had contributed to a Periodical more than thirty years before. No one in the Society was better qualified to speak on books, and on the Quaker concern for good books, than he. The only sentence in which he specifically recommends any authors by name is that in which he says: "The occasional perusal of the works of some of our best prose writers, and of such as Milton and Cowper may be intermingled with severer study." There is reason to suppose that the later poet would have been gratified by this posthumous association of his name with that of the Puritan poet for whom he himself entertained such an affection.

The juxtaposition of these two poets is not fortuitous in the foregoing reference. Mrs. Elizabeth Waterhouse (*née* Fry), the mother-in-law of the present Poet Laureate, Robert Bridges, writes to me of her early recollections: "Milton was as much or more read in my family, I think, than Cowper and much loved. . . . Cowper's poems were used, as you say they were in America, as a sort of lesson book. Great pains were taken with our reading aloud, and this we were taught to do in the *Task, The Winter Walk at Noon,* etc. We of course learnt *Alexander Selkirk, John Gilpin,* and *Boadicea,* either as lessons or for our own pleasure; but that would only carry one on to about 1844, and the poetry that called to me when I was at the age at which my mother received Cowper's Poems from her mother was—Shelley. And then of course Tennyson and countless others. The whole atmosphere was changed by that time—not I think for the better as regards the religious life. 'But that is another story.' . . . I think I ought to have said that I imagine the popularity of Cowper among Friends was due to the religious and pure atmosphere of his poems, and his love of Nature,—a little in that like our love for Wordsworth."[4] The same lady had written a little

[4] Private letter of February 14, 1915.

earlier a letter touching the same subject to Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen College, which he kindly allows me to use: "Cowper was the poet most read by members of the Society of Friends early in the last century. My father and grandfather were, I imagine, influenced by the classics and by Pope and others. . . . But Cowper was much read and loved in my childhood, and I do not recall any other in the same way. I find an affectionate allusion to him in one of my mother's letters."[5]

I have felt free to quote the reminiscences of Mrs. Waterhouse at some length, because she so precisely appreciates the place Cowper held in the cultivated Quaker homes of England and America during the first half of the last century. It would hardly be possible to find any more discriminating statement of the affection in which he was held by those families who insisted upon a high morality in their children's reading. These letters also bring out the coöperation of the home with the school in filling the youthful mind with the Poet's sentiments.

Let us take one other earlier instance of this Quaker devotion to Cowper. John Talwin Shewell (1782–1866) of London and Ipswich was a recorded minister in the Society, an enlightened and influential Friend. When still a young man, he published in 1808, a *Tribute to the Memory of William Cowper.* The little pamphlet had at least two editions, and I was able to secure a copy of the second edition. There is also a copy in the Library of Haverford College, but it appears to be rare, for there is no copy in either the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Friends' Library in Devonshire House. "In offering to his friends and the public, a second edition of the *Tribute to Cowper,* the author takes this opportunity gratefully to acknowledge the indulgence they have bestowed on the first." Shewell was a worthy man, but not a poet, and there is no need to do more than note the significance of his tribute to one who had recently departed from earthly scenes. Years later, in 1840, he removed to a new country-place at Rushmere near Ipswich, where he realized that rustic seclusion, the praise of which in Cowper's verse had seized his imagination in his early and less opulent years. Often would he

[5] Private letter of December 20, 1914.

repeat, as he walked about his plantation, the familiar passage beginning:

> "O blest seclusion from a jarring world,
> What could I wish that I possess not here?"

And thus he was wont to describe his domestic felicity:

> "The morning finds the self-sequestered man
> Fit for his task, intend what task he may.
> Whether inclement seasons recommend
> His warm but simple home, where he enjoys,
> With her who shares his pleasures and his heart,
> Sweet converse, sipping calm the fragrant lymph
> Which neatly she prepares; then to his book
> Well chosen, and not sullenly perused
> In selfish silence, but imparted oft
> As ought occurs that she may smile to hear,
> Or turn to nourishment digested well."[6]
>
> (*The Garden:* 386–396.)

This same Quaker gentleman, in an autograph letter preserved in the Devonshire House Library, under date of 1856 says: "I have often wondered . . . how it happened, that he (Cowper) should seem so very little to have come across any of our Friends, and the more as there is so much similarity in their views and sentiments, and the tenderness of his spirit was in happy harmony with those of divers who lived in his day; and that they were readers of his poetry I well remember, and I recollect an aged Friend, John Waller of Hitchin, where we then dwelt, bringing a manuscript copy of the Lines on his Mother's Picture (that most tender and pathetic of all poetical effusions) for my Parents to read as a great treat."

In his excellent *Portraiture of Quakerism*[7] as it was over a century ago in England, written by the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson, himself not a Quaker, it is interesting to note how frequently he quotes Cowper as one who expressed in verse the traditional sentiments of the Society of Friends: concerning the futility of the pursuit of pleasure for itself, the cruelty of hunt-

[6] Cf. *Memoir of John Talwin Shewell,* Ipswich, 1870.

[7] Cf. the second edition, 3 vols., London, 1807.

ing as a sport, the enjoyment of domestic happiness, the moral advantages of residence in the country. It seems that the writer quite naturally interprets Quakerism, whenever possible, in terms of the Poet's verse. Not only does Cowper call for the humanitarian reforms in which Friends have long been vitally interested, but his poetry voices that spirit of domestic peace and quiet contentment which has ever distinguished the Quaker home.

The only English Quaker poet of note during the last century was Bernard Barton (1784–1849). His daughter Lucy made an unhappy marriage with Edward Fitzgerald, and the latter contributed a memoir to the edition of selected letters and poems of Barton made by Mrs. Fitzgerald. Barton was on the fringe of the literary world. He spent forty years of his life as a bank clerk in Woodbridge, but he corresponded with Walter Scott, Southey, Byron, Jeffrey, the Howitts, Bayard Taylor, and Mrs. Hemans. In 1824 he received a present of £1200 from relatives and interested Friends, among whom was J. J. Gurney. In 1846 he began to receive an annual pension of £100 from the Crown. His favorite authors were "Daddy" Wordsworth, Cowper, Crabbe, Burns, Evelyn, Gilbert White, Lamb, Izaak Walton, Goldsmith, Bunyan, John Woolman, etc. To Wordsworth he was indebted for his motto: "To pipe a simple song for feeling hearts." That is about the extent of Barton's ambition or accomplishment. Like Cowper, "for whom the Quaker poet had a reverence not to be exaggerated," he valued matter more than manner, and the banality of his artistic production is the result. But nevertheless, as E. V. Lucas says,[8] he became the pioneer of that Quaker culture which for breadth and grace now holds its own with the best." His tastes and aspirations were symptomatic of the broader outlook of nineteenth-century Quakerism in England, and this bank clerk hastened the day when Friends should play a modest part in the world of art and letters. When that day was fully come, other poets necessarily forced Cowper to share his place with them. It is probably safe to say that his primacy among Friends was threatened in England earlier than in America. The editions of his poetry for school use give a

[8] *Bernard Barton and his friends,* London, 1893, pp. 171, 187.

good indication of his place in the curriculum of language study: these editions grow scarce after 1875. But there may still be found in England a goodly number of persons, both Friends and others, who were "brought up" on Cowper, and who cherish him as a favorite poet.

William Wistar Comfort.

Haverford College.

NINE PARTNERS BOARDING SCHOOL (1796–1863).

Among the hills of central Dutchess County, New York, in a settlement which has been known for many years as Mechanic, there stands an old brick meeting house in an excellent state of preservation. On one side, sloping away toward the West, lies the burying ground. All around outside the grounds immediately pertaining to the meeting house, are evidences of wealth and progress. Near at hand and on distant hilltops may be seen spacious country homes. In contrast to modern extravagance and display, this old survivor of a type of Quakerism long past, speaks to us with its substantial, dignified outlines, of a far different day and time.

The famous Nine Partners Boarding School, which is the subject of this sketch, was once next door to the "Old Brick," as the meeting house is commonly called in this vicinity. This particular spot was a center of Quakerly activity in early days. Wonderful, we are told, were the Quarterly Meeting gatherings. The horse sheds adjoining the meeting house were inadequate to hold the teams of visiting Friends, and the fences were pressed into service. Friends were indeed numerous in this region, coming from New England and elsewhere during the period between the years 1724 to 1750. Such names as these are found among the early settlers: Thorne, Titus, Coffin, Mitchell, Pinkham, Comstock, Allen, Rodgers, Hull, Coleman, Willetts, Congdon, Haight, Haviland and Talcott. In 1744 Dutchess County Friends belonged to Purchase Meeting in Westchester County. Meetings were held at an early date in a log house, though Nine Partners was not set off as a separate monthly meeting until

1769. In 1778 this log meeting house was burned and there was built upon its site in 1780 the brick structure referred to above.

The building in which Nine Partners School was held has also an interesting history. In 1760 one Samuel Mabbett, a Friend, opened on this site a store and inn and did a thriving business not only with his neighbors but with travellers passing between the Hudson River and New England. In a couple of years, his business increasing, he built a much larger edifice. This was a store, inn and dwelling combined, which was called the finest building in that section. Being the only store for miles around, "Mabbetts" became very well known.

Samuel Mabbett was said to be a Tory, and there is a tradition of an interesting trap door in his house through which he made his escape to a safe hiding place when patriots became too vigilant. "The basement of the building," says one authority, "was so arranged that he could drive a team and wagon within and unload, and many good people remember their fathers telling of the numberless hogsheads of rum that were there drawn at the close of the war." Mabbett must have concealed his Tory principles successfully, possibly because of the excellent quality of the spirits which he sold. At any rate his goods escaped confiscation and with the coming of peace he moved away to Lansingburgh, New York, leaving the business to his son Joseph.

Mabbett's store, as has been said, was a fine building for its day. It was located centrally on the main road, half way between the Hudson River and New England, with many prosperous and influential Friends living in that locality. To a committee appointed by New York Yearly Meeting for that purpose, it seemed a desirable spot to place a school. Accordingly in 1795 Joseph Mabbett was induced to part with the house and ten acres of land for a consideration of 1600 pounds New England money. Extensive repairs were made and an addition built, so that when finished the building was ninety-nine feet long. (According to tradition, some thought ninety-nine feet sounded longer than one hundred.) We can fancy with what pride our ancestors viewed the completed school building, nevertheless irreverent ones of a later generation dubbed it the "Old Quaker Gaol."

Martha Routh (1743–1817), a Friend's minister and teacher from England, writes thus in her journal:

15th of 6th mo. 1796.—Attended the monthly meeting at Nine Partners. . . . Next morning we sat with a committee appointed to have care of a boarding school in that yearly meeting; for which purpose Friends have purchased a large house. Feeling interested in the undertaking, I offered to return, after taking some meetings in the neighborhood; and with them to review the premises, and render any assistance in my power, which appeared to be gladly accepted.

18th of 6th mo.—On Seventh Day morning we returned to Nine Partners. Spent about four hours with Friends in viewing the house before mentioned, making such remarks as occurred, which were taken down for further consideration. We left them in the evening with unfeigned desires for the prosperity of the school. (*Memoirs of Martha Routh,* York, 1822, pp. 192, 193.)

From which we gather that the founding of Nine Partners School was an event of more than local interest.

In the autumn of 1796 the school opened. The first superintendent was Tripp Mosher and the first principal Jonathan Talcott. A thorough academic course was offered. Usually about one hundred pupils were enrolled. There came into existence a $10,000 endowment fund and more land was added as time went on. Among the early pupils were Jacob Willetts and Deborah Rogers, who were afterward married and became head teachers, contributing much to the school's success. Jacob Willetts was the author of an arithmetic, a geography and an atlas, textbooks which were highly recommended and extensively used in their day. His wife was also remarkable for her mental attainments, being a mathematician and an authority on English grammar as well.

On that memorable day in 1828 when the small band arose and went forth from the session of the Quarterly Meeting to afterward help form the Orthodox branch of Nine Partners, it so happened that the trustees of the school were among the number. Consequently, when the division of property was made the school and some land were given to the Orthodox Friends, the so-called "Hicksites," by far the larger body, retaining the meeting house and cemetery. Shortly after, the Orthodox Friends built a frame

meeting house between the school and the brick building where it remained until 1882, when it was removed to the nearby village of Millbrook.

The brick meeting house continued to belong to the Hicksite Friends until 1897, when it was turned over together with the cemetery to the Nine Partners Burial Ground Association. The historic building is still used occasionally. Last year during the joint celebration of the 150th anniversary of Nine Partners monthly meeting, it was filled with a splendid company representative of both branches. Doubtless the ancient walls had not witnessed such a united assemblage since before the Separation of 1828.

It was inevitable that this sad event should have its effect upon the school. However, for many years after it continued to hold an honored place. There was a certain prestige in having attended Nine Partners and many old pupils still revere its memory. Among those who in their turn brought honor to the school were Lucretia Mott. a noted minister among Friends, and Gould Brown, the grammarian. One writer says "a catalog of 1853 states that the cost of attending the school was $2.00 per week, which included tuition, board, lodging and laundry work, and provision was made for those unable to pay for themselves."[1] Not half a mile away from the old site of the school there is now a young ladies boarding school, each pupil of which pays annually $2000 without extras for her educational privileges.

In 1863 the name Nine Partners Boarding School ceased to exist. The building was closed and the endowment fund was transferred to the Friends Academy at Union Springs, New

[1] [An "Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Pupils of Friends' Boarding School, Washington, Dutchess County, N. Y., for the Year ending Fifth Month, 1844," shows the number of pupils to have been "Males, 77; Females, 83—Total, 160." The Superintendents were Jarvis and Lydia Congdon; "Male Department, Teachers, Joseph Jones, Principal; Reuben Dorland, John F. Gritman. Female Department, Teachers, Mary Hoag, Principal; Catharine Irish, Betsy P. Haviland." "The price of Board and Tuition for Boys over 14 years of age is $22 per quarter. For Boys under 14 years, and for Girls, $20." According to this Catalogue, the course of study was that of a High School, including French but omitting the Classics.—EDITOR.]

York. A few years later John D. Wing, a former pupil, bought the school property. The building was at length moved to a neighboring hill top, where it has become a part of a beautiful residence.

The Academy at Union Springs in 1876 became known as Oakwood Seminary. Despite many obstacles in these latter days of school competition, Oakwood has held its own. It has numbered among its graduates successful teachers, preachers and foreign missionaries, not to speak of a good-sized army of noble Christian men and women.

In July, 1920, Oakwood was moved back once more to Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting. About twenty miles from its original site and three miles South of the City of Poughkeepsie, its campus commands an extensive view of the Hudson River and the Catskill Mountains. Amid such inspiring surroundings the successor to Nine Partners School looks forward to a future big with possibility and worthy of its historic background.

Esther L. S. McGonegal.

Millbrook, New York.

THREE OLD LETTERS.

"A Letter Wrote by John Locke to Rebecca Collier."[1]

The following letter was sent to Rebecca Collier, after a meeting in London, with a paper of sweetmeats, and another for her companion, Rachel Bracton: the great John Locke was at meeting, and took particular notice of them. 'Tis also said that King William the third was there incognito.

My sweet Friends:

A paper of sweetmeats by the bearer to attend your journey comes to testify the sweetness I found in your society—I admire no converse like that of Christian freedom; and fear no bondage like that of pride and prejudice. I now see acquaintance by sight cannot reach that height of enjoyment which acquaintance by knowledge arrives unto. Outward hearing may misguide, but

[1] From an old copy. Cf. *Life of John Locke,* H. F. Bourne, 2, 453.

internal knowledge cannot err. We have something *here* of what we shall have *hereafter,* "to know as we are known"; and this we, with other friends, were at the first view partakers of; and the more there is of that in this life, the less we need enquire of what nation, country, party, or persuasion our friends are; for our own knowledge is more sure to us than another's; thus we know when we have believed. Now the God of all grace grant that you may hold fast that rare grace of Charity; that unbiased and unbounded love, which if it decay not, will spring up mightily as the waters of the sanctuary, higher and higher, till you, with the universal Church, swim together in the Ocean of divine love. Women indeed had the honor first to publish the resurrection of the Lord of Love, why not again the resurrection of Spirit of Love, and let all the disciples of Christ rejoice herein, as doth

Your partner

JOHN LOCKE.

Grays Inn, Nov. 21st, 1696.

NATHANAEL GREENE TO ABEL THOMAS AND OTHERS.[2]

CAMP BEFORE NINETY SIX, June 7, 1781.

Gentlemen.

Your Letter of the 6th is before me; from the good opinion I have of the people of your profession, being bred and educated among them, I am persuaded your visit is purely religious, and in this persuasion have granted you a pass, and I shall be happy if your ministry shall contribute to the establishing morality and brotherly kindness among the people, which no country ever wanted it more. I am sensible your principles and profession are opposed to war, but I know you are fond of both political and religious liberty; this is what we are contending for, and by the Blessing of God we hope to establish them upon such a broad basis as to put it out of the power of our enemeys to shake their foundation; in this laudable endeavour I expect at least to have the good wishes of your people, as well for their own sakes as

[2] From the original.

for ours, who wishes to serve them up on all occations not inconsistant with the publick good.

I am Gentlemen
Your most obedient
humble servt
NATH. GREEN.

Endorsed "General Green's letter to Abel Thomas."

A LETTER OF JOHN DICKINSON TO AARON BURR.[3]

WILMINGTON the 23d of the 1st Month 1802.

My Dear Friend.—Be pleased to accept my thanks for thy very kind letter of the 20th instant. It will prepare us for meeting reports, that otherwise would have been extremely distressing.

About five or six years ago at his place near Philadelphia the Dr. [George Logan][4] fell in the same manner. Therefore by this last disorder I am induced to fear, there is some tenderness or defect in his constitution which requires the utmost attention. May it not be proper to communicate this intelligence to Dr. Eustis?[5]

Dr. Logan's love of country, candor of spirit, and boundless benevolence, render his life inestimable.

With every respectful consideration, I am Thy truely affectionate Friend,

JOHN DICKINSON.

Aaron Burr, Vice president.
[Addressed] Aaron Burr, Vice president in Congress.

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[3] Taken from *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* Vol. 29, N. S., p. 109. "Some Papers of Aaron Burr," by W. C. Ford.

[4] Dr. George Logan (1753–1821), at this time United States Senator from Pennsylvania.

[5] William Eustis (1753–1825), at this time a member of Congress from Massachusetts.

A School Bill of the Eighteenth Century.

Hannah Lloyd to Anthy Benezet .....Debre—

1749

To teachg her son in my School from ye 20th 1st mo. 1748/9 to ye 10th 2d mo.; & in the Latin School from ye 10th 2d mo. to ye 7th 9th mo.... £ ..16..–

1750

To teachg her youngest Daughter from the 20th 1st mo. 1748/9, to ye 1st .5th mo., 1750 ..... 1..15..–

To 8 Writing Books 3/2, & Tiring 1/6 ..... 4..6

£2..15..6

Recd ye Contents being in full of all Accounts, ye 4th 9th mo. 1750 Anthy Benezet.

INNOCENCY'S COMPLAINT.

The following is a reprint of a rare Broadside of which only two copies are known to exist in America, one of which is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the other was sold at auction early in 1920. This reprint is from a facsimile. "It is probably the earliest printed broadside relating to the persecutions of Friends in Massachusetts. John Foster, the printer of the original, established the first press in Boston in 1675." It is listed in Joseph Smith's Descriptive Catalogue of Friends (II. 16). George Joy would appear to have been a Friend, but the Editor has not been able to identify him.[1] The original is printed in two columns on a single page.

INNOCENCY'S COMPLAINT

AGAINST

Tyrannical Court Faction in Newengland.

THE Priests and Elders that pernicious Seed
Of Rebel *Jews*, as we in Scripture read,
Opposing Christ, did with Consent prepare

[1] Besse's "Sufferings" mentions a John Joye of Devonshire as one of thirty-eight Friends imprisoned for non-attendance at the National worship, I. 163.

A Law to trap him, and his life ensnare:
Upon the Trial, he doth make demand,
What Precept he hath broke, or just Command?
For want of Crime, the *Jews* make this Reply,
We have a law, and by it thou shalt die:
A cursed Sentence, and to be abhor'd,
Imbrae'd by none, but Murderers of the Lord.
The making Laws for to ensnare the Just,
Of God is hated, and to be accurst.
They murdered Christ, regarding not his loss,
Nor 'swag'd their Malice, tho' he on the Cross,
But then proceed against his own Elect,
By Means preposterous and indirect;
Nay, ever since, the Wicked in their Rage,
Have murdered Righteous Men in every age:
But Innocency, that no Ill doth fear,
Hath worn out Tyrants wrath, do what they dare.
This Time, with sober Men does seem to be
A Parallel with the Apostacy.
The *Massachusetts* is alike for Crime,
Unto *Judea* in Christ Jesus' Time:
Here Laws are extant, that doth terrify
Well meaning Men, and Liberty deny
In serving God, except in their own way,
In their own Method, and on their made Day.
Here Innocents are fined, whipt, and branded,
Ears cropt, some sold for Slaves, some slasht, some hangèd;
Whoever is contrary to them found,
Though in his Spirit their Fine must be Five Pound,
Or else three Days in Goal [gaol], e'er a discharge,
And with a ten lasht whipping be enlarg'd:
Such Cruelty forbore in other Parts,
Doth now possess *American's* brutish Hearts.

Lament, *Newengland,* like a tender Mother!
To see thy Children one destroy another:
The humblest sort, and none but such as they,
Unto the fiery Zealous are a Prey;
Those that in Conscience cannot wrong a Worm,
Are fined and whipt, because they can't conform;
And time hath been, which ne'er shall be forgot,
God's Servants have been hang'd, none knows for what,
Except for serving of their blessed Lord,
For Quaking and for Trembling at his Word.
Let those black Days, like the fifth of *November,*

Be writ in Red, for Ages to remember.
And thou, *July,* forbear thy round delays,
Instead of Mirth, let Mourning end thy Days.
Twelve Innocents, without e'er Guilt or Crime,
With cruel Whips were scourgèd at one time;
And six days after, fifteen more by Force,
Were like the first twelve, beaten without Remorse.
Seven tender Women, young and old, were stript,
All naked to the Waist, and cruelly whipt.
Immodest Action! greatest Wrong with Shame,
Which never will be clear of Guilt or Blame:
And twenty Men, well bred of good Descent,
Fit for Assistance to their Government,
Each of such good Report and high Repute,
Their Foes could not accuse them, but were mute,
Only a Law unjust forbid their meeting
To serve the Lord, and Whips must be their Greeting.

Admire, O Heavens! be Earth astonish'd
At this profuse Expense of guiltless Blood!
In such a Case where nothing is concern'd
But a Religion, they in Scripture learn'd;
Christ's own Command, the Apostle's Approbation,
All good Men's Care, our wise Kings Toleration.
Why should Men's Liberties be thus abrig'd,
And Conscience hinder'd in what's privileg'd?
Why should a petty Government constrain Men so
What Acts of Parliament doth scorn to do?
CHARLES is not forgot, that bloody Spirit
Doth in their angry Humours still inherit.
Amongst the *Heathens, Turks,* and *Catholicks,*
Are no such cruel and unchristian Tricks.
Had they complyèd with a wicked Law,
And of a whipping stood in common Awe,
Five Pounds their tender Backs had saved, so
They had been free'd from Stripes, to stay or go;
Nay, were they criminal, inlargèd they had been,
Newengland's Law admits of buying Sin:
But for obedient Service to their God,
Thus to be beaten with the scourging Rod.
And from their Meetings to be draggèd off,
By merciless Men, and made a common Scoff,
To *Ishmael's* Race, and unto Prison sent,
Cain may his Purpose on meek *Abel* vent,
It is so ridiculous, and such a snare,

All wise and sober Men a Judgment fear.
Their Blood doth cry, and loud for Vengeance call,
Tho they do heartily forgive them all.

Regard, O Lord! thou powerful God of Host,
The Goal (goal), the Gallows, and the Whipping Post!
Repeal those wicked and pernicious Laws,
That Innocents be not destroy'd without a Cause,
And grant such Rulers as may be devout
For Christ and Saints, and turn the other out.

George Joy, Mariner. 1677.

(Boston: Printed by John Foster, 1677.)

CONGREGATIONAL OR PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS. A FORGOTTEN EPISODE IN QUAKER HISTORY.

By the very nature of the stand taken by the adherents of Elias Hicks in 1828 and afterwards, there was not among them the same reasons for divisions and separations as among the Orthodox. The latter held that belief on doctrinal points was essential; while the Hicksites considered it of slight importance. So long as there was a general agreement on most points, exact statements were uncalled for, as they would interfere with the liberty of the spirit. But as time went on, it became evident that this very freedom from restraint was leading to divisions and separation. The average human mind needs something tangible or definite or both to satisfy it. No extreme spiritual or mystical body has ever succeeded either in gathering or holding any very great number of adherents.[1]

Among the Hicksites the differences arose chiefly in two fields —Church organization, and Church practice. In the first the younger and the more active members of the body made the same complaints against the Meetings of Ministers and Elders which

[1] This may be illustrated by the membership in the United States of some of the religious bodies which minimize the outward and definite. The latest statistics available are those of 1916. Universalists, 58,566; Unitarians, 55,863; Swedenborgians, 7083. Compare these with the Methodists, 6,04,303; Baptists, 6,879,584; Presbyterians (main body), 1,179,566.

their fathers had made in 1827–1828 against the similar meetings in the undivided body. They were "despotic," "intolerant," "narrow," "restrictive." Thus Lucertia Mott writes (5 mo. 1, 1841):

"What dost thou think of the conclusion of Michigan Quarterly Meeting in regard to the 'Select Meeting' [Meeting of Ministers and Elders]? I have long noticed that difficulties in our Society have had their origin in our Select Meetings, humbling as is the fact. Perhaps if their power were more limited, one cause of dissensions would be romoved. 'Tis true we often have good meetings together, but what is there that ought to be regarded as secret? I am more and more prepared for their discontinuance. Indeed, I am sometimes almost sick of religious societies; seeing that our nature is 'to bark and bite.' I am not sorry that Michigan has come to that conclusion."[2]

She writes again (3d mo. 23, 1846):

"After nearly thirty years' experience and observation of the results of this establishment, we have come to the conclusion, that nearly all the divisions among us have had their origin in these meetings. . . . There is quite a spirit of 'come-outerism' in some parts of our Yearly Meeting, as well as in Western New York and Ohio. The intolerant, proscriptive course of those in power among us has led to this result. . . . The assumed authority of men's meetings, and the admitted subordination of women's, is another cause of complaint. Indeed a radical change in our Discipline would be the result of another movement or division with us. Some of us were prepared for much greater changes, or advances than we made, eighteen years ago; but we ignobly compromised to preserve our name and standing, and to gain numbers. Those who were gained by such concessions are now our opposers; we having unwisely exalted them above equal brethren, clothing them with office, and giving them power."[3]

Again, she writes two years later (11 mo. 14, 1848):

"The high-handed measures of those in power must eventually open the eyes of the people to the impropriety and danger of conferring such power on our fellow-mortals. The congregational form of religious association will ultimately prevail, as man comes to understand Christian Liberty."[4]

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[2] *James and Lucretia Mott, Life and Letters,* A. D. Hallowell, Boston, Houghton, 1884, p. 218.

[3] Ibid., pp. 274–276.

[4] Ibid., p. 308.

Of course Lucretia Mott was a radical of radicals, especially at this period, but there is no reason to think that she over-stated the case to any great degree. There is plenty of other evidence of the same kind.[5] In the "Basis of Religious Organization" put forth by the dissidents in 1848, it is said, "Another fruitful cause of difficulty and disaffection, has been the institution of Meetings of Ministers and Elders. Of these we propose the discontinuance, as also of the practice of recommending or ordaining ministers."[6]

In the field of Church Practice also serious differences arose. Laying little or no stress on doctrine, it was natural that works of philanthropy and social reform should take an important place in the polity of the Hicksite group.

The character of a birthright Quaker at this period was logically conservative; and this was the case both with the Orthodox and Hicksites, and in both the conservatives were in a decided majority. But in each there was a minority decidedly radical, and which was relatively larger among the Hicksites. The crying evil in the country and the great national issue above all others was slavery. The Friends, after a struggle of a century, had wholly cleared themselves of the evil by 1800, and now by inheritance and conviction, were anti-slavery. There was no question as to their own membership, but what attitude should be held towards those without was a very different question; and upon this there was wide divergence of opinion. Both among the Orthodox and the Hicksites a large majority wished to hold aloof from any political party, and disapproved of any thing which might even imply that the body supported the "Abolitionists," as the supporters of freedom for the slave at almost any price were termed. The majority of Friends in both groups believed in a course of "hands off" as far as the official position was concerned except in the way of remonstrances, and petitions to State Legislatures

[5] Compare *Memoir of Edward Hicks,* Philadelphia, 1851, pp. 211, 251, 258.

[6] *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends held at Waterloo, New York,* 1852, p. 22. Seventy years later, this proposition was carried out by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite). *Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting,* 1917, pp. 18, 50, 155–169; 1918, pp. 17, 55.

and the Congress of the United States. Personal efforts for the amelioration of the slave, for setting him free, and for working within the law, and for modification or repealing of the slave laws of the Nation and of the States were encouraged and aided; but to many the word "Abolitionists" was a red flag. There was more reason for this attitude than many non-contemporaries have generally allowed. The radical abolitionists of that day advocated forcible resistance to the slave laws—an attitude quite justifiable for those who believe in force, but wholly foreign to the principles of Friends. There were also many non-religious persons closely connected with the anti-slavery workers. It was believed that even the evil and horror of slavery did not justify the extreme radical "Abolitionists," and there was also a genuine fear lest an approval of the "Abolitionists" would land Friends in an impossible position.[7] On the other hand the Friends who sympathized with abolition movements firmly believed that this risk of compromising Friends' principles must be run in view of the vast importance of the main issue—freedom for the slave.

It was not strange that the first actual separation on the Anti-slavery Question should occur among the Orthodox. In 1842–1843 some 2000 Friends in Indiana Yearly Meeting seceded and formed the "Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends." As they numbered less than ten per cent. of the membership of the Yearly Meeting, this separation was not as serious as it might have been.[8]

There was a similar difference of opinion among the Hicksites.[9] The radical element was strongest in the Meetings in Central and Western New York State, in Ohio, and in Michigan. While the main issue was slavery, other issues, all involving greater liberty

[7] A clear statement of this difference of opinion will be found in the old *Friends Intelligencer,* Isaac T. Hopper, editor, New York, 1839, I, 404.

[8] The larger body undoubtedly acted inadvisedly or the secession would not have taken place. Most of the seceders returned in about ten years. See Edgerton, *History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting on the Anti-Slavery Question,* Cincinnati, 1856 (rather one-sided); Hodgson, *Society of Friends in 19th Century,* Phila., 1876, II, 9–49; Grubb, *Separations,* London, 1914, p. 60. Thomas, *History of the Friends in America,* Phila., 1919, 5th ed., pp. 173, 174. *Journal of Charles Osborn,* 1854.

[9] See *James and Lucretia Mott,* pp. 216, 217, and as above.

of action and expression within the body, were advocated and strenuously urged. At this distance of time, the absence of official records, and the scarcity of the pamphlet literature on the subject, render it almost impossible to secure very satisfactory details of the movement. But as those which are available all tell the same story, they may be accepted as giving a fairly accurate picture. As is sometimes the case in early Church History, where we have only one side, the other may be inferred with reasonable accuracy from the arguments used in attacks and defence by the side we have. So from the statements put forth by the seceders, we learn that the majority declined officially to join in an active political or semi-political anti-slavery campaign, or to identify the Society with the "Abolitionists"; they also refused to modify the Church organization—especially the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and the Meeting for Sufferings [Representative Meeting or Permanent Board of today]; they declined to cease recording Ministers and appointing Elders; they declined officially to support woman suffrage; or absolute refraining from the manufacture, sale or use of alcoholic liquors. Moreover they did not allow that perfect individual freedom of speech and action which the radicals claimed as a right. This review will give some idea of what a revolution was aimed at, and it is not surprising that the great majority of the Hicksites refused to support so radical a platform. There is little doubt that Lucretia Mott was correct in saying that the conservatives of 1828, for whose sake concessions were then made, were now holding back those who wished to push forward radical measures.

Though there was a separation among the Orthodox, in 1842–1843, on the slavery question, the separations, relatively more important, among the Hicksites were much later. The first reference found is a Minute of Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1847, "respecting some of the members of Green Plain Monthly Meeting (Ohio)." A report from that Monthly Meeting was sent to the Yearly Meeting saying, "This Monthly Meeting appointed a committee . . . to visit our members: who forwarded the names of all those who wished to be in fellowship with us to be recorded." (*Friends' Intelligencer,* V, 249.) This implies the group of radi-

cals was a large one in that meeting, as was found to be the case later.

It has not been found possible to follow in detail the steps of this movement in this meeting, but apparently the "Green Plain Annual Meeting of Friends who have adopted the Congregational order" was begun in 1848 and fully organized in 1849.[10]

Genesee Yearly Meeting (Western New York, Canada, and Michigan) in 1849 faced a similar situation. "The state of our Society in Michigan being now brought before the Meeting by the Committee appointed last year (1848) to attend the quarter, and by a Minute from Pelham Half Year's Meeting, stating that Friends in Michigan were desirous of advice and counsel; after a time of deliberation and feeling for the unfolding of truth, it was thought best to appoint a committee to unite with Women Friends in taking the subject into consideration and report to a future sitting." This was done and the report made was the following, "The Committee appointed to take into consideration the subject introduced from Pelham Half Year's Meeting [the separation in Michigan] made report after conferring together, that they had united in proposing that Monthly Meetings should consider all those who had separated themselves from our religious Society, and set up Meetings contrary to our order, as having relinquished their right of membership; but that any who chose to inform their respective Monthly Meetings that they desired to return to their right as members might be permitted to do so without asknowledging their error, provided it was done within one year. This measure being calculated in the estimation of Friends to avoid much bitterness, contention, and angry feeling, was adopted by the Meeting. It being understood that its application was not to be confined to Michigan Friends, but was to extend to all parts of the Yearly Meeting."[11]

The sentiment of the greater number of Friends in regard to these movements is doubtless expressed in an editorial in the *Friends' Intelligencer* of 12 month, 16, 1848.[12] "It is known to

[10] In the same printed *Minutes and Proceedings* (1849) the word is sometimes "Annual" and sometimes "Yearly."

[11] *Friends' Intelligencer,* VI, 125, 126, 1849.

[12] Vol. V, 300, 301.

many of our readers, that a portion of the members of Genesee Yearly Meeting have become dissatisfied with the present order and discipline of our Society, believing that it places undue restrictions upon individual views and rights. That by the establishment of Preparative, Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings a door is opened to the exercise of despotic power; and that this has been a prominent cause of the difficulties which have occurred in the Society at different periods of its history. The conference therefore proposes to do away with the 'subordination of meetings,' and to establish 'the order of independent congregations' as 'most in harmony with man's nature and rights and least liable to abuse.' It 'also proposes the discontinuance of meetings for Ministers and Elders, as also the practice of recommending ministers. . . . Every congregation will attend to the regulation of its own ministry. Men and women will meet jointly.' . . . Were we disposed to examine the question, it might be easy to point out defects in the new plan quite as glaring as those which it is intended to remedy. Submission to the Divine government within always leads into humility and meekness, and promotes love and unity under a right order, and hence submission to one another becomes preferred to the furtherance of our own private views. There is in this spirit, no sacrifice of the individual to the mass, because the individual voluntarily and cheerfully submits his views to the combined sentiment of his brethren, professedly acting under the same spirit, believing that the judgment is as likely to rest with the many as with him. . . . We think it is safer, both for the individual, and for the body, and for the cause of truth, than that of individual infallibility."

A graphic description of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) of 1849, where there was a warm discussion of these matters and where the "reformers" were in force, is given by Samuel M. Janney, the Historian, who was present, in the *Friends' Intelligencer* (VI, 229), and there is also a brief account of the situation in *The Friend* (Philadelphia) (xxiii, 15).

The "Addresses" issued by these "Congregational Friends," and the "Basis of Religious Association" adopted are too long to

do more than mention. Their main principles have already been stated, but they may be summarized as follows: (1) Freedom of belief or liberty of conscience; (2) Absolute individual freedom of speech and action as far as practicable; (3) Congregational meetings with freedom of action in each meeting; (4) Annual meetings with *advisory* powers only; (5) All meetings open to interested persons whether members or not; (6) No recording of Ministers, and the abolition of Meetings of Ministers and Elders; (7) Whole-hearted support of the Anti-Slavery Cause and of the "Abolitionists"; (8) Absolute equality of the sexes, including suffrage; (9) Refraining from the manufacture, sale and use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage; (10) General reformation of the Penal Laws, and abolition of capital punishment. This was a large programme for 1847–1853, and no one can be surprised that no Yearly Meeting adopted it. Nearly all the ends aimed at, have been reached by the present time—some through much tribulation, but neither the Church nor the community was ready at that period, nor can be blamed for refusal to adopt it—the fullness of time had not come. As has been frequently the case, the radicals really denied to the conservatives that liberty of conscience which they claimed for themselves.

The Meetings which were set up, so far as it has been possible to identify them, are as follows, all being seceders from the Hicksite group: Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, Waterloo, New York (1848); North Collins (New York) Yearly Meeting (1848); Green Plain Annual Meeting of Friends who have adopted the Congregational Order, Ohio (1848); Michigan Yearly Meeting of Friends of Human Progress (1848?); Ohio Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends held at Salem, Ohio (1849); Meeting of Progressive Friends in Eden, Iowa;[13] Meeting of Progressive Friends held in Wayne, Ohio;[13] Wabash Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends (Indiana) (1850); Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends (1853); Indiana Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends (1857?). It has not been found possible to discover to how great an extent

[13] It is not clear from available records whether these meetings were independent or belonged to one of the yearly meetings named in the list.

Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were established, but they cannot have been many. It is believed that all these Yearly and any other Meetings, except the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, came to an end by 1865, though no formal dissolutions have been discovered by the writer.[14]

The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, held near Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, alone survives to preserve the memory of the movement, and this Meeting has long ceased even to profess what are called Friendly principles. It has been for many years practically a Unitarian association. It has no congregations or other meetings attached, and it is now simply an annual meeting for the discussion of philanthropic, social, economic, and, to some extent, political topics. It cannot be called a religious association though sometimes semi-religious subjects are discussed. No "Minutes" or "Proceedings" have been published for a number of years. The last meeting was held during the first week in Sixth month, 1920.[15]

It is likely that few, if any, Orthodox Friends joined with the "Progressive Friends." In those days the mere fact that it was a "Hicksite" movement would be enough to deter. There were, however, many Unitarians and Radicals who expressed their sympathy, and some who joined. Among those who wrote letters of sympathy at the opening of the Pennsylvania Meeting, 1853, were Theodore Parker, Samuel J. May, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Lloyd Garrison, and Gerrit Smith. John G. Whittier, though invited in 1855 to attend, declined in a characteristic letter, the essential part of which is the following:[16]

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[14] A personal inquiry in 1919, by a friend of the present writer, in one of the neighborhoods where the Congregational Friends were most numerous, has failed to reveal any data of meetings, or printed "Proceedings" subsequent to 1865. With one or two exceptions even the memory of any organization seemed to have died out.

[15] A newspaper report says: "The first day . . . was occupied largely with discussion of matters of an economic and political character. . . . The Clerk, F. P. Griffin, . . . discussed the question 'How can Liberalism organize without becoming Reactionary' . . . W. A. Brooman, of Wilmington, discussed 'Capitalism and Social Discontent,'" *Public Ledger* (Phila.), June 5, 1920.

[16] *Proceedings Penna. Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, 1855,* pp. 20, 21.

"I scarcely need say that the testimonies which your organization is designed to promote meet my cordial approbation. In that ancient Society whose name and order you have to some extent adopted, I have found freedom to advocate them to the extent of my ability, and while I have had to lament over too much conservatism, short-coming and prejudice among its members, I have also met with much encouragement and sympathy; and I rejoice to believe that a better and more liberal spirit is prevailing, and that you are not entitled to an entire monopoly of the term 'progressive.' . . .

"I have no means of knowing, nor is it necessary in this connection to inquire, how far we might agree upon doctrinal speculations, but be assured that my best wishes are with those who seek to reduce Christianity to practice and promote the true orthodoxy of life. That in our endeavors to this end we may not rely too much upon our own strength and wisdom, but, on the contrary, realizing our natural weakness and frailty, look reverently and prayerfully to the only Source of light and ability, is the desire of Your friend, John G. Whittier."

Though Whittier had many warm friends among the Hicksites and was full of broad Christian sympathy and charity, and his heart revolted against "iron creeds," he adhered closely to his own Meetings.[17]

The reasons for the decline and final dissolution of the Progressive Friends are not far to seek. The real basis of union, such as it was, was the Anti-slavery cause, and when the Civil War put an end to slavery their *raison d'être* was gone. Those who had come in from outside cared little for the purely Quaker subjects, and absolute equality of the sexes including suffrage, and total abstinence, abolition of capital punishment, even in the minds of many of their advocates, were thought impossible of attainment at that day. But in addition to these facts, the "Congregational Order" was against the tendency of the times. In

[17] A few years before his death he personally said to the writer, when speaking of a visit he paid to his warm friends, the parents of Bayard Taylor, at Kennett Square (see his poem "The Golden Wedding of Longwood"), "Though I was staying with them, I did not feel easy to attend their Meeting, so while they went, I remained at home. In fact," he continued, "I never was in a Hicksite Meeting but once, and that by accident. I reached New York City late one Seventh day evening, and the following morning asked the hotel-clerk to direct me to a Friends' Meeting; he did so, I took my seat, but before very long I *felt* it was not *my* meeting."

the old days when difficulty of transportation and communication was great, in many communities a congregational system was inevitable. But as these difficulties were lessened or removed, closer association was not only probable, but essential for success. It is a logical result of the improved methods of communication of every kind. The forces which are bringing the Churches nearer together to-day are not only spiritual but also material; and they have become stronger as material means have increased in efficiency. Witness the Five Years Meeting, the General Secretary, the Boards; the Biennial Conferences, the Joint Committees, among the Friends, as well as the American Friends Service Committee; the Council, and the Executive Committee of the Congregationalists and their General Secretary. So in the Churches at large, the Inter-church Movement, and other movements and joint associations too numerous even to mention. Strict Congregationalism is becoming less and less effective in our highly organized, closely-knit modern manner of living. Rightly organized and rightly conducted close *association* will not injure, but aid the best individualism.

The history of this forgotten episode in Quaker history is worthy of a fuller treatment. Failures as well as successes are often valuable instructors.

Allen C. Thomas.

Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Authorities.

The authorities on this subject, as already intimated, are few, and difficult to secure. The following are those which have been personally consulted and used.

Minutes and Proceedings of Green Plain Yearly Meeting of Friends who have adopted the Congregational Order of Church Government, 1849. Columbus, Ohio, 1849.

The same, 1850. Wilmington, Ohio, 1850.

Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, held at Waterloo, New York, 1852, with an Appendix. Auburn (New York), 1852.

Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends held at Old Kennett, Chester County, Fifth month, 1853. [first meeting] New York, 1853.

The same, 1854–1884. Various dates and places.

Progressive Friends, An Account of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Progressive Friends with some Observations on their Principles and Prospects, by William Logan Fisher. [Philadelphia] 1856.

The Friends' Intelligencer (old series), edited by Isaac T. Hopper, New York, Vol. I, 1838–1839.

Friends' Weekly Intelligencer (afterwards *Friends' Intelligencer*), Vols. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1848 ff.

The Friend (Phila.). "Separation among the Hicksites," Vol. 23, 15, 1849.

Memoirs of Edward Hicks. Philadelphia, 1851.

James and Lucretia Mott; Life and Letters, selected by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell. Boston, 1884.

Note.—The Orthodox periodicals, with the single exception of one article mentioned above, both in America and Great Britain, do not appear to have noticed the movement. Nor have any notices been found in published "Journals" or "Memoirs," though there may be some. The general absence of indexes makes any search tedious and unsatisfactory. This applies to both Orthodox and Hicksite works.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Quaker Colonies. By Sydney George Fisher. (In the Chronicles of America Series). Yale University Press, New Haven. 5 × 8¼ in. Pp. vi, 244. (Sold only in sets.)

The author has written a very readable and reliable volume in this sumptuous series of American histories. Any doubtful points are such as might be expected from one not himself a Friend. For instance, we know from Quaker records that the majority of the Assembly after 1756 were not members with Friends. But many of them belonged to Quaker families or preferred an affirmation to an oath, or were so associated with Friends by political, social, or business sympathies that they were considered as Quakers by their coworkers, and naturally by those whose information is derived from the public records of the times.

In various other movements men not Friends are called Quakers as indeed many of them were except in nominal membership. When, however, we find in a cotemporary letter describing the challenge to a duel sent by John Dickinson to Joseph Galloway, "That a Quaker should challenge a Quaker may well cause a surprise," and appreciate the fact that at the time probably neither was a Quaker, an error by a modern historian is very natural.

The same fact would explain what would seem to be a false estimate of the number of Quakers in the province. This is based on Franklin's statement made about 1750 that one third of the population was Quaker, which would make some 50,000 or 60,000. This was probably true for

political purposes, but while no census by church or state was taken, it seems doubtful if they ever exceeded 40,000 in number.

It is not at all certain that the division in the Society in Revolutionary times was reproduced in the separation of 1827. What our author calls the mystical element, which he associates with the prevailing body in the war and the Orthodox division in the Separation, was probably not more mystical than the other body which emphasized the Inner Light. The war element was in reality small though containing a number of eminent and public-spirited men. It is doubtful if it numbered five percent of the total membership. There seems to have been practical unanimity in the support of the position taken by the Yearly Meeting, and that position was sustained by both bodies after 1827.

A few other minor statements may be questioned. Pastorius is mentioned as a Mennonite. Perhaps he was. If so he belonged to two societies, for it is certain that he was a Quaker Minister and served on important committees of the Meeting. It is questionable also whether Penn's "hiding" after the accession of William III. caused him to lose "largely the good will and affection of the Quakers." The Assembly after 1701 was, it is true, composed of "four representatives from each county," but as almost immediately the three southern counties seceded and their share was given to Chester, Philadelphia, and Bucks, making eight for each, and this lasted for seventy-five years, the statement is likely to give a wrong impression. Many Friends will also question this statement, "Quakers though they hate war will accept it when there is no escape." Again, the law passed by the Assembly after Braddock's defeat is said to have been drawn up by Franklin. As it was largely a copy of preceding bills ten years earlier, it is doubtful if Franklin was the author. Again, in the attack of the Preston Boys our author says, "On all sides the Quakers were enlisting." The enlisted Quakers numbered about two hundred. It is unfair, however, to select these minor details of doubtful authority and omit the expression of the general justice and discernment of the author's statements and conclusions. He gives the Friends almost too much eulogy in a number of instances. William Penn gets full recognition for his wisdom, sincerity, and advanced ideas of government and moral reform. The pioneership of Friends and the success which followed their efforts in liberty, Indian management, prison reform, slavery and other movements which the future endorsed, are amply and cordially recognized. The book will be read with great satisfaction by all interested in our provincial history, for the style is good, the material generally well selected and the judgment of the reader will pass on the times probably correct.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

HAVERFORD, PA., 10th month, 1919.

(This review, received too late for number 2, vol. IX, should have appeared in the last BULLETIN, but was mislaid.)

The William Penn Lectures. Heroes in Peace. John Haynes Holmes. [Walter H. Jenkins, Printer.] Philadelphia, 1920. 5 × 7¼ in. Pp. 51.

This is the sixth of the series of lectures, known as the "William Penn Lectures," given under the auspices of the Young Friends Movement (Fifteenth and Race Sts.), yearly at the time of the Yearly Meeting. The present lecture is in the clear, forcible style of the Minister of the Community Church, New York City. Those who had the privilege of listening to the delivery will know how much the personality of the author must have added to the words. Dr. Holmes has much in sympathy with Friends, especially in regard to Peace. The theme is to show that, while the most common heroes are those of *War,* "the higher and finer grades" are those of Peace. Notwithstanding the excellence of the presentation the "heroes of Peace" deserve even more than they get. The story of Captain Scott, which is most dwelt upon, is a splendid example of endurance and determination, but one would hardly rank fortitude in the Arctic regions as high as under some other circumstances.

The Misadventure of Athelstan Digby. By William Fryer Harvey. The Swarthmore Press, Ltd. London, 1920. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. 191. 6s.

This book is a collection of stories of "misadventures" which supposedly happened to a goodnatured, almost gullible wealthy English manufacturer, and director in many industrial corporations. They are told in an exceedingly lively manner. The author is an English Friend.

Hannah Bye. By Harrison S. Morris. The Penn Publishing Company. Philadelphia, 1920. 5¼ × 7⅝ in. Pp. 226. $1.75.

As all but one of the characters are Quakers, this book may be taken as an attempt to represent scenes depicting Quaker life and character. It is rarely safe to say that anything is *impossible,* but it may be said without hesitation that this story is about as *improbable* as it could be. The author has taken some external peculiarities, which he supposes reveal Quakerism, invests his characters with them, and constructs an unpleasant story. To give one example of the author's ignorance of Friends: He makes an old-fashioned Quaker woman-preacher reprove in this manner a member who seemed after a meeting for worship, about to attack a man who had injured him: "Does thee know where thee is? This is the house of God. Here are no evil passions, no hatred, no law of eye for eye—only God's law of love thy neighbor as thyself, Go!" To make a Quaker of that character—indeed any true Quaker—call a Meeting House, "the house of God" shows small knowledge of Quakerism. But the book abounds with similar errors. There are many anachronisms also. What is to be regretted about such books as this is that many persons, who do not know the truth, take them as typical pictures. Fortunately such works rarely have a long life.

A Service of Love in War Time. American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917–1919. By Rufus M. Jones. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920. [Also, Pennsbury Series, V. Philadelphia, Friends Bookstore, 302 Arch St.] 5½ × 8¼ in. Pp. xv, 284. $2.50.

This, the fifth volume in the "Pennsbury Series," was unexpectedly delayed by difficulties in manufacture. It is well that this record should be written while all the principal actors were living, and means for ascertaining the facts were easily attainable. The spirit and tone of the book are good, and there is a desire to be fair to all parties. Indeed, in some places one is rather surprised not to find what most persons would feel was not undue severity.

One of the greatest difficulties in writing contemporaneous history is the *personal* element. An inevitable question which rises before an author is, "Shall there be a selection of the actors, or shall they be named as they come up, whether living or dead?" If the former course is pursued, there will be severe criticism both as to omissions and inclusions; if the latter course is followed, many will resent the inclusion of their names as being too personal a matter—perhaps even holding it as a violation of personal rights. It seems to the reviewer that in this dilemma, Dr. Jones has followed the wiser course. An attempt to select names would have led to endless difficulties in the presentation of the subject, and given rise to much heartburning, besides greatly impairing the value of the book as an historical record. Again, in contemporaneous history praise is apt to be too lavish, and blame too restricted. It is likely that some will say Friends are praised too highly. Possibly some paragraphs are open to this criticism, but, on the other hand, have not Friends in the past often erred in "dreading praise" over-much? After all deductions are made, the Relief Work was a great work, and it should be made known both to the Society and the Public. Friends have a right to "a wholesome pride," which is not at all incompatible with a wholesome humility.

The author deserves commendation for devoting so much space to "the problems of the military draft and to the experiences of the conscientious objectors to war." As the author says—"This book is something more than the story of an impressive piece of relief work. It is the interpretation of a way of life. . . . The Friend and other Christians of similar faith . . . did not take their unique and difficult position because they were obstructionists. They took it because they were inwardly pledged to a way of life which, if extended through the world, would eliminate the seeds of war and would bring new and higher forces into operation within the fabric of society." (Introduction, xii, xiii.) The objection of the Friend to War is not simply that it kills, but that the whole spirit of War is a spirit of hate and destruction, which is directly opposed to the spirit of love, which is the spirit of Christ.

The methods of relief and reconstruction are well and graphically de-

scribed, and the different fields of service named and located. The narrative is brought down to the close of 1919. Eight good illustrations, six from photographs, two from drawings, and a map of the Verdun Area add to the value of the work. Two Appendixes contain a list of the American Reconstruction workers in France; and a list of the *Équipes* and centers of work in France. There is no Index; any satisfactory one would have unduly enlarged the book and greatly increased the cost.

One cannot but think that this record will be a revelation not only to those outside the Society, but to the Friends themselves. It marks an epoch in the history of Quakerism.

A Plain Friend. By Annie Matheson. With a Foreword by Lady Betty Balfour. British Periodicals, Ltd., London. 4¾ × 7½ in. Pp. 54. Portrait. 2s. 6d.

John Bright, A People's Champion. By Bertram Pickford. With a Foreword by Helen P. Bright Clark. (Same publishers.) 4¾ × 7½ in. Portrait. 2s. 6d.

These two small books are the first and second numbers of a new English venture known as "Rose and Dragon Books. Young Citizen Series." The Foreword describing the series states, "This is the first venture in a new biographical series of citizen-patriots—not of our Empire only but of the world." "It has been named the 'Rose and Dragon Series.' . . . Dragon stands for all forms of difficulty to be overcome. . . . Rose stands —not only for the Destruction of Evil, but for the building up of things beautiful and fragrant, the inspiration which will cause the apparently deadest of rods to blossom."

It is interesting that the first two should be about Friends—Elizabeth Fry and John Bright. The accounts necessarily give only salient points in the life and work of these "citizen-patriots"—a term used in its widest sense—but if the succeeding numbers are as good as these, it cannot but be that some part of the admirable results sought for will be attained. It is strange that instead of a portrait of Elizabeth Fry—Richmond's for instance—one of Samuel Gurney is given, who has little place in the book and seems most inappropriate.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Attempted Sale of the Manuscript of Fox's Journal.—"At Sotheby's on Monday (7 mo. 26, 1920) the journal of George Fox was purchased by Mr. Annan for £,750. The journal of the founder of the Society of Friends is chiefly in the handwriting of his stepson-in-law, Thomas Lower, to whom Fox dictated it with letters addressed to him and other documents of interest regarding the early history of the Society" (*Weekly Manchester Guardian*, July 30, 1920). It is announced that the above notice gives a

wrong impression. The owner of the manuscript held it at a reserve price of £2,000. The highest bid was as above and the manuscript was withdrawn from sale, and at present is back again at Devonshire House. It is to be hoped the owner will now let the English Friends have it at a fairer price.

PAPUNAHUNG, A CORRECTION.—The author of the paper on "Papunahung" in the last number of the BULLETIN (IX. 117) sends the following correction. An error in the note, p. 117, on Thomas Bartow, is corrected on the authority of Dr. John W. Jordan, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. "Thomas Bartow was not a minister of the Moravian church, but a well known merchant of this city. He was born in Perth Amboy, N. J., 1737; married 1768, Sarah, daughter of Daniel Benezet, who was a son of John Stephen Benezet, the Huguenot merchant, three of whose daughters married Moravian ministers; viz., Mary, Rev. Jacob Lischy; Susanna, Rev. John C. Pyrlaens, and Judith, first to Rev. David Bruce, second, Dr. John F. Otto. Thomas Bartow died in 1793, and his wife in 1818; one of their daughters married Joseph Drinker."

BI-CENTENARY OF JOHN WOOLMAN (1720–1772).—Before the present number of the BULLETIN reaches its readers, a celebration of the bi-centenary of John Woolman's birth will doubtless have taken place at Mt. Holly, New Jersey, and also a commemorative meeting in Philadelphia.

ALL WORLD CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS IN LONDON, 1920.—One of the remarkable incidents of the year 1920 in the history of Friends will be the All World Conference of Friends held in London 8 month 12–20. At this conference representatives of all those calling themselves Friends were present. Great Britain, Ireland, the Continent of Europe, America, India, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and the West Indies furnished representatives who amicably met together, discussed, and worshipped together. About three hundred of the delegates were from America.

THE *Mayflower* AND JORDANS BARN.—J. Rendel Harris has, with his acute powers of research, presented plausible, though not convincing, reasons for believing that the timbers of the old barn at Jordans, England, were those of the famous *Mayflower*.

A brief but clear statement of the arguments is given in the *Friend* (London) for 8 month 6, 1920. An illustrated booklet, "The Finding of the *Mayflower*," by Rendel Harris was announced "as in the press."

THE PILGRIMS AND THE QUAKERS.—In view of the *Mayflower* Tercentenary celebrations, it may be well to recall the actual relation between the Pilgrims and the Quakers, for there is a good deal of misconception concerning it.

The original Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620 and there is no record of any law restricting religious liberty earlier than 1650 or of persecutions or punishments under *this* law. The first law against the Quakers in the Plymouth Colony was passed, at the instigation of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1657, fully thirty-six years after the landing at Plymouth, and when, so far as we know, only two of the original Pilgrims were living—John Alden and William Bradford. The latter died early in 1657, so he is likely to be free from blame, but John Alden at least signed some of the restrictive legislation. In no case can the Plymouth colonists be rightly charged with inflicting death or mutilation on their victims. The severe persecution ceased so far as Plymouth is concerned in 1661. The facts are, therefore, that with the possible exception of John Alden, none of the original Pilgrims persecuted the Quakers, though some of their successors did. It should be remembered, however, that by 1657 the Plymouth Colony had ceased to be a purely Pilgrim colony and was under the practical control of Massachusetts Bay.

Annual Excursion of the Friends Historical Society.—The annual excursion, 6 mo. 5th, was to Stenton, the residence of James Logan (1674–1751), the friend and Secretary of William Penn, at 18th and Courtlandt Sts. The old building, erected in 1728, is in excellent preservation. It remained in the possession of the Logan family until recently, when it was by the surviving members of the Logan descendants, turned over to the City of Philadelphia, and is now under the care of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Owing to an unusually heavy rain, just about the hour for starting on the excursion, the attendance was exceedingly small, which is greatly to be regretted. The committee issued a most attractive illustratrated Programme.

Unusual Length of Service.—Nathan Babcock of Bolton, Massachusetts, was Clerk of Bolton Monthly Meeting, 1857–1919, a period of sixty-two years.

Alliterative Titles.—"Boasting Baptist dismounted and the Beast Disarmed." To which tract there was a reply, "The Quaker Quashed and his Quarrel Quelled."

Joseph John Gurney.—There has lately come into the possession of the Library of Haverford College, a copy of the large folio volume of the "Extracts from the Letters, Journals, Etc., of Joseph John Gurney. Printed for the family only. No extracts to be taken." The editor was his widow, Eliza P. Gurney. The contents of this volume comprise a good part of the material on which Joseph Bevan Braithwaite founded his well-known Life of Joseph John Gurney. The volume measures 10½ × 17 inches, and contains 719 pages. It is printed on letter-paper with a margin of 4¾ inches.

THE PILGRIM CHURCH AND THE QUAKERS.—. . . Judged by the prevailing standard of their age, and, still more, by the example of their Puritan neighbors, the Pilgrims can be seen to have sustained a level of self-restraint in their relation to dissidents which does them honor. . . . Though it is also true that even Plymouth caught fire from the prevailing fierceness and assented to measures unworthy of a noble past. But there were those of the Pilgrim churches (for by this time the one had become several) who held by it, and it is a fitting close to mention that one of these was Isaac, John Robinson's son, who let himself be disfranchised rather than be a party to persecution. Note.—In the Plymouth Colony, Thomas Hatherly, Captain Cudworth, Isaac Robinson, and some others suffered disfranchisement or their 'place in the Government' sooner than consent. F. J. Powicke in *Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1920, pp. 287, 288.

NINE PARTNERS SCHOOL IN 1800.—"In the afternoon we visited Friends' boarding school at Nine Partners. I spent about half an hour in the boys' department, and was much pleased with the order and government maintained amongst them, as well as the proficiency of many in useful learning. When I first went into the room, and beheld the boys, the language of my heart was, The Lord bless the lads.

"Afterwards we went into the girls' school, where several samples of their writing and arithmetic were shown me. . . . I left the school with great satisfaction, desiring the children might grow in grace and in the saving knowlerge of the Truth, as they improved in useful learning to qaulify them for business in this world." Journal of Isaac Martin (1758–1828), Philadelphia, 1834, pp. 90–91, 2d month, 12th (?), 1800.

WILLIAM CROTCH AND THE POET COWPER.—William Crotch was a man in very humble life, and could scarcely read or write, but was a deeply religious character, and possessed in an extraordinary degree the gift of spiritual discernment. Being once in the neighborhood of Cowper he felt a religious concern to pay him a visit. He accordingly went to the house. A man-servant came to the door. William Crotch requested to be introduced to his master, but the servant replied that his master saw no one, and he had strict injunctions not to admit anybody. William Crotch was rather disconcerted at this refusal, and he continued to urge his request but still in vain; at length he said, "Go and tell thy master that a poor creature like himself wishes to see him." The servant carried the message in, and presently returned with his master's permission to introduce the stranger. On entering the room where the poet was sitting, William Crotch walked up to him, and, without any other salutation, took him by the hand, and sat down by his side. For one

whole hour they thus sat hand in hand, without speaking a word. In relating the circumstance, William Crotch said that during the time they thus sat in solemn silence a clear conviction was afforded him of the extraordinary purity of Cowper's mind. He at length addressed the poet, and, having in this way disburdened his spirit, he took leave of him, well satisfied that he had obtained the interview. From "James Hurnard, A Memoir." London, 1883. Pp. 51, 52.

WILLIAM CROTCH, OR CROUCH.—A brief sketch of his "convincement" as a lad, will be found in the *Irish Friend,* 2, 94. He was at one time footman for John Gurney of Norwich, the father of Joseph John Gurney. He visited America, and according to accounts had a remarkable power of insight. His latter days were unhappy, caused, it would now appear, by a mental cloud. He died in or near Philadelphia.

THE EARLY FRIENDS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS MORAL REFORMS.

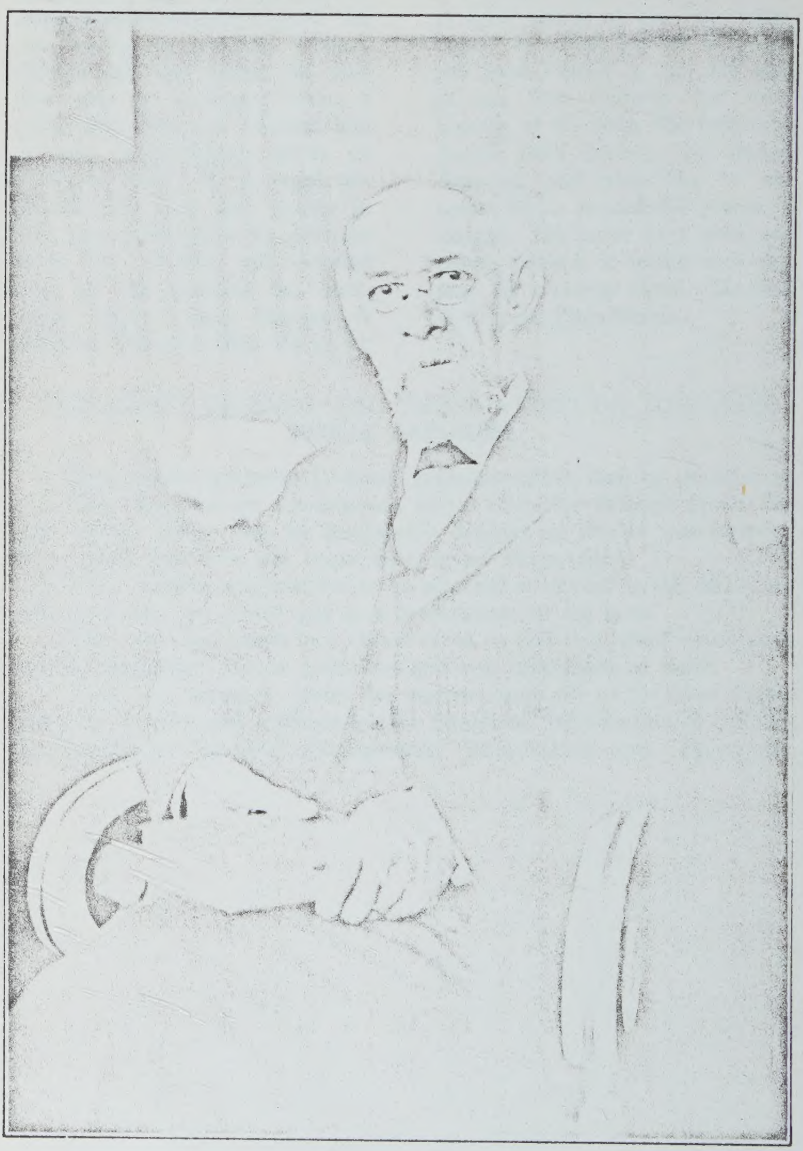
1. They judged questions by moral principle rather than by expediency.

2. They depended on a continuous moral education through direct Divine agency rather than on spectacular displays of Divine interference, over which they were not responsible, to set things right.

3. Their religion was intended to be practical as applied to the affairs of this world and not useful only as a preparation for the next.

4. They were not bound by a closed creed or tied to a ritual which prevented adaptations to new conditions and new revelations of truth.

5. They were willing to admit the supreme authority of the New Testament in its spirit and methods.—Isaac Sharpless, Introduction to "Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, 1919. Pp. 17, 18.



Allen C. Thomas